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ABSTRACT

This report discusses issues concerning the establishment of a national youth service in the United States, national service models from other countries, and the role of private organizations in this issue. National service refers to a program in which young people participate in public service activities for a limited amount of time at relatively low pay. It may be linked to a military obligation or entirely separate from it. The document is presented in five sections. The introduction includes arguments for and against national service. Arguments for a national service suggest that it would shape better citizens, the country needs youth, and it would attack youth problems. Those against a national service argue that it is a means to make national registration and draft more palatable, the cost cannot be justified, and it violates constitutional rights. Section II discusses comparable programs in other countries. Most national service experiments have been in countries with primitive economies and high development needs. Programs in Western industrialized countries are limited to alternative service options for individuals unwilling to enlist in the military. Section III describes opinions of national service held by both public and private sectors. Section IV discusses questions and tradeoffs concerned with establishing a national service, such as voluntary or obligatory, military or non-military, and funding. The final section recommends that the Arthur Vining Davis Foundations develop a national service teaching module and fund a documentary which presents the best arguments for and against the national service. (Author/KC)

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NATIONAL SERVICE IN THE U.S.: PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS, AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE ARTHUR VINING DAVIS FOUNDATIONS

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SP 012 968

Prepared for
The Arthur Vining Davis Foundations

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PREFACE

In the next few years, national youth service may become one of the more hotly debated public policy issues. Even now, sides are being taken and heated arguments over the prospect of a U.S. national service are surfacing around the country. Though the debate is just getting underway, one thing is already evident. National service means different things to different people. Because of the great confusion over what a national service is or might be, it's best to begin with a definition:

> National service refers to a nationwide program in which young people participate in public service activities for a limited period of time at relatively low pay. This service may be linked to a military obligation, or it may be entirely separate.

Although the concept of a period of national service may seem novel for the U.S., it actually has long historical roots. William James proposed a national service in 1906, Eleanor Roosevelt discussed the idea in 1934, and Lewis Mumford advocated an NS plan in 1956. It wasn't until the mid-1960s, however, that the idea really gained momentum. In 1966 the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service was charged with making recommendations on the Selective Service System; in addition, it was asked to examine the idea of national service. This Advisory Committee and several subsequent ones felt national service deserved to be tested, but bills introduced in Congress in the late 1960s went nowhere.

Though not labeled as such, the U.S. has had what might be considered components of a national service program at various times over the last 50 years, including: the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) in the Depression years; the periodic imposition of the military draft; and numerous social alternatives of the 1960s and 1970s, such as the Peace Corps, VISTA, Teachers Corps, Job Corps, and so on.

Over the last several years, the possibility of a U.S. national service has again gained prominence. In the last six months in particular,

there has been a flurry of activity. The purpose of this report is to summarize what has taken place recently in the U.S., discuss NS models from other countries, and suggest areas of NS in which the Arthur Vining Davis Foundations might become involved.

To simplify the presentation of the various alternative forms of national service, their pros and cons, their advocates, and the possible role that private organizations like the Arthur Vining Davis Foundations might play in the discussion, we've divided this report into five sections:

I. Introduction: topics include the primary arguments for and against national service and future trends that will impact any proposals for NS.

II. NS Activities in Other Countries: a discussion of NS-like programs overseas and their degree of comparability to the U.S. situation.

III. Who's Doing What: an up-to-date description of the major factors (both individuals and institutions) in the NS debate today.

IV. Models of National Service: a brief discussion of the various alternatives proposed for a national service system. There are several basic questions to be addressed under any plan, and these will be highlighted.

V. Recommendations: IFTF's judgment on the best way (if any) for the AVD Foundations to get involved in the NS issue.

In addition, we have included a brief bibliography of key individuals and organizations in the NS debate.

I. INTRODUCTION

The debate on national service revolves around a number of basic issues. We've summarized them according to "pros" and "cons" to reflect the major arguments of NS supporters and opponents.

PROS

1. NS will be "good for the kids." This argument states that some sort of service will aid the social development of young people in their formative years. It will offer a vehicle for "shaping better citizens," which is currently lacking in either schooling or job-related activities.

2. The country needs them. Young people are viewed as a vital national resource that can be mobilized as a work force to attack any number of manpower-short areas; these could include health care, day care, military needs, and so on.

3. We need a new way to attack youth problems. Young people are at the core of several national problem areas--most significantly, they are disproportionately represented among the unemployed and in crime-related activities. One approach to alleviating street crime and high unemployment might be a national service program.

CONS

The arguments against establishing a national service typically involve some or all of the following points:

1. National service is a thinly disguised marketing tool for the military. Here, antidraft spokespeople argue that NS is simply a means to make a return to national registration and draft more palatable to the

public. While in theory these groups might not oppose some form of NS, they see it as inextricably bound to military needs and hence unacceptable.

2. In a period of increasing fiscal conservatism, the mammoth cost of a national service program cannot be justified. Estimates for an NS program range from $3 billion to upwards of $25 billion a year. People who oppose NS on economic grounds point out that such costs are infeasible in a time when taxpayers are revolting against the increasing costs of government. They further argue that such a system would require the creation of another huge bureaucracy in Washington.

3. Any "national," "universal," or "compulsory" service program will necessarily have some form of coercion to it. Those who hold this view believe that coercion and service cannot be linked. As one antidraft group has stated: "Coercion blights the whole concept of service; it undermines those laudable motives which result in action freely and sacrificially undertaken; it stifles enthusiasm and personal commitment."*

4. Compulsory national service violates constitutional rights. Opponents of compulsory national service argue that the Thirteenth Amendment specifically prohibits activities that result in "involuntary servitude." To the extent that NS is mandatory, they believe, it abridges an individual's protection against civilian servitude.

In addition to these general arguments, two major trends are apparent that will, if anything, increase the need for more discussion of the NS issue. These are:

- The All-Volunteer Force (AVF). Over the past several years, there has been mounting concern over the viability of the All-Volunteer Force. Typically several problem areas are cited: AVF attracts a disproportionate share of the minorities, the lesser-educated, and the poor; the reserve ranks are low and getting lower (triggering further concern that the U.S. mobilization capacity may be in

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*Ten Questions on Draft Registration, Conscription, National Service, Friends Committee on National Legislation, March 1, 1979, p. 4.

jeopardy); and manpower costs for the AVF are rising rapidly. (According to a 1977 Congressional study, defense manpower costs, currently running at 56 percent of the total defense budget, are expected to reach 76 percent of the budget by 1981.*)

- Demographics. There were nearly 80 million babies born in the "baby boom" period from 1945 to 1965. This boom has led to a glut of teenagers in the U.S. for the past 15-20 years. However, the boom was followed by a "birth dearth" (1965-present) in which much lower fertility rates were the rule. Thus, the number of teenagers aged 16 and up will begin to drop very sharply in 1981. Population surveys indicate:

  - The number of 16- to 19-year-olds will drop from over 17 million today to 13.5 million in 1990.
  - The number of 18-year-old high school graduates will fall from 3.2 million to about 2.5 million by the late 1980s.

  Everything else being equal, this shortage of teenagers--especially educated teenagers--could have severe repercussions on the military in the 1980s. With private industry also scraping for entry-level labor, it would seem that the All-Volunteer Force will have great difficulty in attracting qualified recruits.

There are a number of other factors that will affect how NS is conceived and implemented.

- Third sector development. How the private, nonprofit sector emerges in the years ahead could have direct bearing on national service activities. That is, if there is a growth of nonprofit and voluntary organizations, incentives for supplying personnel may be needed.
- Anti-big government. The national mood to put tighter reins on government at all levels does not rule out the introduction of new government programs, but it may have significant influence on how these programs are conceived and structured.

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*William R. King, *Achieving America's Goals: National Service or the All-Volunteer Armed Force?*, Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate, February 1977, p. 19.

II. NATIONAL SERVICE ACTIVITIES IN OTHER COUNTRIES

The United States has on the whole had limited experience with national service-type programs. A number of other countries have experimented with national service concepts to a much greater degree. It's tempting then to study these other systems with an eye out for clues on how a U.S. system might fare.

However! this has to be done very carefully. Virtually all foreign national service experiments have been in countries with very primitive economies and high development needs (the emerging nations in Africa) or in nations basking in the aftermath of a victorious revolution or political war (China, Israel, Cuba). The U.S. today clearly fulfills neither of these conditions. Despite the comparability problem, a brief overview of foreign national service activities might still prove helpful.

In the Third World, there are an increasing number of national service programs, many of which have mandatory components. A recent review* and analysis of programs in Africa and Asia divided these programs into four basic categories:

1. National service for school graduates and dropouts. These programs typically involve "school leavers"--students who for various reasons do not continue school beyond a certain year (e.g., sixth grade). These programs are designed to help such students make a transition into the job market. To some extent, these programs are analogous to the Job Corps in the U.S. Examples include the Kenya National Youth Service and the Tanzanian and the Zambian National Service schemes all mandatory programs. These programs are generally designed to meet widespread unemployment problems

*Alexander Quarmby, *A Categorization and Limited Analysis of Various National Service and Study-Service Schemes in African and Asian Countries*, October 1978.

of young graduates. There have been a number of problems with such programs, including the difficulty of handling and placing large numbers of students in meaningful positions.

2. Postuniversity national service programs. These programs involve graduates of universities and other higher educational institutions in service and training activities. Nigeria's National Youth Service Corps, for example, is a one-year, full-time, mandatory program that sends graduating students to 12 different Nigerian States where they work in hospitals, farming, rural infrastructure, surveying, service to the disabled, and development administration. In addition, they receive training in local language, history/culture, and leadership. Ghana's National Service, and Morocco's Service Civil are also required programs. Indonesia's BUTSI and Thailand's Graduate Volunteer Centre are examples of volunteer programs.

3. Study-service schemes. These programs are generally part of an educational program and are often a requirement for graduation. Students register for a course that involves some form of service away from the campus. In the Nepal Development Service (NDS), for example, students are sent to villages where they work under the village school headmaster and assist in school and nonschool projects. They are graded by the village headmaster, based on (1) their presence at work, (2) their behavior and personal lifestyle (from villagers' feedback), and (3) their work achievements and other community involvement. Other examples include the Ethiopian University Service (1964-74) and Indonesia's Kuliah Kerjah Nyata (KKN). A variation of this scheme is to require students to serve prior to their entrance to university. Advocates of study-service schemes point out that such programs have great potential for changing educational systems, as well as improving student-government relationships.

4. Other service programs. In addition to the programs just mentioned, there are others that fall outside of the previous categories, including Iran's various development corps (prior to the rise of the Khomeini revolution). After an individual is drafted into the

Iranian military, he then has an opportunity to participate in a national service program designed to strengthen leadership and service in rural areas. Both the People's Republic of China and Cuba have youth service and training programs that are neither compulsory nor entirely voluntary. Because of the pervasive political attitude, young people grow up with an expectation that they will engage in various forms of service to the community. Their activities are often equivalent to what would be considered part of the commercial and profit-making sector, such as packaging tea.

In western industrialized countries, there are no compulsory national service programs; instead, there are limited alternative service options for individuals not wanting to do military service. The following are descriptions of selected military service/alternative service programs in the advanced industrialized countries:*

- Canada has military conscription only in times of warfare. Alternative service in essential industries such as agriculture and forestry is permitted on an individual basis.
- France's military conscription involves 16 months of active duty followed by service in the reserves. Alternative service can be performed in the civil police or in overseas Peace Corps-type projects. Conscientious objectors perform noncombatant services. Those conscientious objectors refusing civil defense tasks can work for pacifist or religious organizations helping the poor, or they can labor in public works projects.
- West Germany has military conscription with service periods varying with one's age and the state-of-war. Alternative service provisions are made for conscientious objectors. Alternative service in the Civil Reserve, Civil Defense, and Development Services is available. According to the German Volunteer Act of 1969, the German Volunteer service (equivalent to the U.S. Peace Corps) known as "DED" is required to maintain a pool of applicants who are permitted to select foreign development service instead of military or alternative

*William R. King, op. cit., Appendix A.

civil service. These individuals will be exempt from the draft if (1) they serve two years in a development service, (2) they prepare themselves adequately for service abroad, and (3) the Minister of Economic Cooperation certifies their service.

- Israel has national service programs that are closely related to nation-building military service. Its Gadna Youth Corps, originally founded in 1939 as an adolescent voluntary service to defend Jewish communities in Palestine, now serves more as a national learning and character-building service for school youth. Both men and women can be drafted into military service. Alternative service for male conscientious objectors is available in the Border Police and in development projects. Women have a wider choice of national service programs.
- Switzerland's military service involves four months of training for all males. Conscientious objectors are drafted into the Medical Corps.

III. WHO'S DOING WHAT

During the past two years, there has been a real flurry of activity in the NS area, involving research on the whole NS issue as well as advocacy of a number of specific positions. The following is a brief "Who's Who" of NS today--the leading forces and actors. This section is divided into governmental and nongovernmental activity. Further detail on these organizations and relevant contacts within them can be found in the Appendix.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The White House. President Carter has only indirectly expressed interest in national service. In March 1977, he said he was satisfied with the AVF and did not want to return to the draft. He did, however, indicate that if a return to the draft became necessary, he would recommend that it be combined with "a much more comprehensive public service opportunity, where people might go into jobs like the Peace Corps or VISTA or teachers' aides, mental institutions, and so forth along with military service."*

Congress. At the time of the Vietnam build-up in the mid- to late 1960s, there were a number of bills introduced in Congress that would have established NS programs in the U.S. Such legislation was introduced by Senators Daniel Brewster (S. 1213 in 1967), Edward Kennedy (S. 3052 in 1968), and Mark Hatfield (S. 1937 in 1967) and by Representative Jonathan Bingham (H.R. 18025 in 1970). Further, in 1967 the Senate Committee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty held hearings on NS. None of the proposals were enacted. As the All-Volunteer Force concept gained congressional support, interest in national service waned. Over the last two years, however, a number of activities related to national service have emerged in both houses of Congress, as well as the Congressional Budget Office.

National Service Newsletter, January 1979, p. 1.

In the House of Representatives . . .

During the current session of the 96th Congress, two bills were introduced involving national service-related activities. Both bills were introduced to meet problems surrounding the All-Volunteer Force. On March 13th, Congressman Paul N. McCloskey (Republican, California) introduced H.R. 2206, the National Service Act, which had the following provisions:

- A National Service System would be created and would require all persons to register within 10 days of their 17th birthday.
- All registrants would have the option of serving in a civilian capacity for one year or in the military service for two years or more and would be allowed to defer such service until the age of 23. (If an individual chose neither option, he or she would be placed in a lottery for six years and could be inducted if military manpower requirements were not met during this time. If inducted, the individual would incur a two-year military obligation and a four-year reserve duty.)
- For civilian service, a National Youth Service Foundation would be established; the YSF would be quasi-public and receive appropriations from Congress. In addition to current federal youth service programs, such as the Peace Corps, VISTA, Job Corps, etc., the Foundation would also invite youth service proposals from other levels of government. The Civilian Services Corps would have two major options: community service and environmental service.

In April, Congressman John J. Cavanaugh (Democrat, Nebraska) introduced H.R. 3603, the Public Service Act. Under Cavanaugh's bill, universal registration would be established. The individual would have the option to volunteer for military or civilian service or elect a six-month period between his or her 18th and 26th birthdays, during which time the person would be eligible for civilian, military, or military reserve duty. On the civilian service side, each agency of the federal government would be required to designate a specific number of positions as youth service positions, which would then be filled by young Americans either voluntarily or through monthly conscription

The McCloskey and Cavanaugh bills differ in at least one major way. If the Cavanaugh bill were enacted, an individual could be conscripted into federal civilian service (e.g., lowest grade GS positions). In McCloskey's bill, if an individual did not voluntarily choose a civilian national service

alternative, he or she would be subject to military draft, if military manpower needs were not being met through voluntary enlistments.

Neither bill is expected to make any headway during this session of Congress. The Cavanaugh bill, because it does entail a conscription into civilian service at lower federal job levels, is meeting both constitutional difficulties (i.e., questions surrounding "civilian servitude") and strong government employee union objection. Also, since many lower-level federal positions are held by minorities, any attempt to make these jobs available for a national service program would very likely engender strong protest from civil rights organizations. Congressman McCloskey has admitted his bill is in difficulty:

> My bill is not going to pass this year, but I think registration will pass. A limited draft could pass, and the minute we go to a limited draft, then this program of mine, I think, becomes the far more preferable alternative. I would expect it to receive very careful attention and debate in this next presidential campaign and in the Congress after the campaign.*

In the Senate . . .

Senator Sam Nunn (Democrat, Georgia) is the Chairman of the Manpower and Personnel Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee and has held a number of hearings on current and potential military personnel problems. In 1977 he commissioned a study on the AVF and alternatives to it, including the possibility of a national service. More recently, Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsungus, the only member of Congress who has served in the Peace Corps, is reportedly planning on introducing a sense of the Senate resolution urging the President to look more closely at NS.

In the Congressional Budget Office . . .

In 1977 at the request of Senator Sam Nunn, the CBO conducted several studies of national service possibilities; as a result, it recommended three policy choices. The first choice was termed a "small, targeted national service," designed for 200,000 positions. The participants in this option would

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Peninsula Times Tribune, April 27, 1979.

be taken from a population of about 800,000 jobless and disadvantaged youth between the ages of 16 and 20. The second choice identified by the CBO is a "broad-based voluntary national service." In this choice, the CBO estimates that the National Service program would draw 1.6 million volunteers from the total population of all youth between the ages of 16 and 20. Because this choice would involve a competitive minimum wage for the volunteers, there would be some competition with military recruitment (the first choice is not perceived as being competitive with such recruitment). The third choice identified by the CBO is called a "broad-based mandatory national service." In this choice, the CBO foresees as many as 4 million youth in one age group, with nonmilitary programs absorbing about 3.5 million participants annually.

Federal Agencies

ACTION

The federal umbrella organization created during the Nixon Administration, ACTION is responsible for the Peace Corps, VISTA, University Year for Action, National Student Volunteer Program, Foster Grandparents, and Retired Senior Volunteers. With the Department of Labor ACTION has cosponsored two national service-related pilot projects.

The first one, known as the Program for Local Service (PLS), took place in Seattle, Washington beginning in 1973 and involved 372 volunteer youth. PLS volunteers received a yearly stipend of $2,970, plus full medical coverage and certain legal benefits. They worked for local agencies in King County (called volunteer stations) and were funded through grants to local governmental unit sponsors. The work they agreed to do had to be of an antipoverty nature and could not replace regular employees. The sponsors of the volunteers estimated the value of the work performed by the PLS volunteers to be $2,150,000, double the ACTION grant of $1,086,000. After federal funding ended, the State of Washington created a Youth Service Corps in July 1977. The State Legislature has directed the Washington Department of Employment Security to spend up to $3.5 million of state-controlled CETA funds to support some 750 participants in the youth service corps.

Following the enactment of the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects in August 1977 (described in the next section), the Department of Labor,

the administrator of the Act, released some of its funds for use by ACTION to test national service. Because of various political problems, the resulting Labor-ACTION demonstration project located in Syracuse, New York, includes only a fraction of the persons who would be included, and only a fraction of the activities that would be included, in a national service program. The Syracuse project, called the Youth Community Service, is a program in which volunteers (youth who are between 16 and 21 and unemployed) work 30 hours a week and participate in a training program for 10 hours. A local board in Syracuse arranges community service projects for participants, who then receive both a stipend to cover living expenses and deferred educational benefits. The project, only recently begun, is funded at $8 million.

In 1978 ACTION submitted a budget request for FY 1979 totaling $3,841,000 "to develop a program model for National Youth Service . . . that will combine research and evaluation of similar programs and the development of procedures for the management of a program that is national in scope." Since its initial request, ACTION has had to scale down its budget. The new supplemental request for FY 1979 is for $2,736,000. This amount would fund one prime contract for research and development in four major areas related to the development of National Youth Service models:

- design and implementation of National Youth Service Advisory Framework
- research and analysis of National Youth Service Policy Issues
- design and analysis of potential National Youth Service Test Models
- design of administrative structure

As of this writing, the prospects of ACTION being granted this supplemental budget appear slim. Nonetheless, if interest in national service programs gained momentum in Congress or through political debate, ACTION would very likely be involved in establishing and testing prototype projects. Also, ACTION has considerable internal interest in national service programs; Donald J. Eberly, a senior policy analyst in ACTION's Office of Plans and Policy, is described as one of the most knowledgeable people in the area of national service and is also the founder of the National Service Secretariat.

The Department of Labor

Any national service proposal would impact and relate to existing Department of Labor youth employment and training programs. The extent to which DOL is already involved in NS-type activities can be seen in this summary of Public Law 95-93, the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977.

> This Act provides $1 billion for four major new employment and training programs for youth. Title I of YEDPA adds a new Title to CETA (Title VIII) that sets up the Young Adult Conservation Corps (YACC) to provide year-round job opportunities to unemployed youth 16 to 23 years old. Title II amends Title III of CETA to create three new programs: (1) Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects (YIEPP), which are intended to provide employment and training opportunities to help youth remain in or return to school; (2) Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects, which are intended to provide unemployed youth with work in community conservation, rehabilitation, and improvement; and (3) Youth Employment and Training Programs for youth, mostly poor, who are unemployed, underemployed, or in school. Most YEDPA money flows from the Department of Labor through CETA prime sponsors, to local agencies. YACC money is allocated by the Department of Labor to the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior.*

Additional DOL activities having potential bearing on NS include other CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) funding organizations, the Jobs Corps, and the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In part through federal funding, state and local governments have begun to experiment with national service-type youth projects. The ACTION-funded Program for Local Service in Seattle and the Youth Community Service Project in Syracuse, New York, have already been mentioned. California has a volunteer Civilian Conservation Corps aimed at enlisting people between the ages of 18 and 21 to participate in a year-long program of work, education, and recreation, working on projects related to conserving natural resources in California. Massachusetts has had a Commonwealth Service Corps.

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*American Institutes for Research, *Resource Materials for a National Youth Service*, October 1978.

As mentioned earlier, Washington State created a Youth Service Corps following the expiration of the Action-funded Program for Local Service (PLS). The 1977 legislation creating the Service Corps declared the following findings and recommendations:

- Many young people can't find jobs.
- Young people need opportunities for career exploration.
- Young people can provide human and community services.
- Existing youth programs are inadequate.
- The PLS model challenges the abilities and commitment of young people while extending the service of local public and private agencies.*

PRIVATE AND NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

In recent months several foundation-funded commissions have considered national service. In addition, as National Service-related legislation has been proposed in this session of Congress, numerous antidraft and anti-national service organizations have taken strong positions against the bills. The purpose of this section is to present highlights of the work of private and nonprofit organizations active in the area of national service.

The National Commission on Youth, established and funded by the Kettering Foundation, has considered the creation of a national service program. The purpose of the Commission is

> to make a comprehensive examination of the problems confronting youth, formulating recommendations for a national policy on youth and designing new environments for youth--ones that are more compatible with the community than the presently organized secondary school which takes pride in its separatism.

In its final and soon-to-be-released report, *The Transition of Youth to Adulthood: A Bridge Too Long*, the Commission makes three basic recommendations relating to national service:

National Service Newsletter, September 1977, p. 2.

1. The Commission recommends that Congress establish a National Youth Service guaranteeing all American youth the opportunity for at least one year of full-time service to their community or to the nation. Both male and female youth between the ages of 16 and 21 would be given the opportunity for one year of service; youth between the ages of 14 and 21 would be eligible for part-time participation as part of school-related cooperative programs.

2. The Commission also recommended that Congress enact legislation requiring all citizens at the age of 18 to register for the opportunity to participate in a National Youth Service program. This registration program would be conducted by way of Youth Transitional Planning Councils, composed of businessmen, parents, counselors, labor union officials, educators, and youth and would function to coordinate people, places, and programs.

3. The Commission also recommended that any National Youth Service plan give serious consideration to incorporating an educational entitlement voucher--a type of G.I. bill for service. Opportunity vouchers should grant one year of educational entitlement for each year of service experience, up to a maximum of four years, according to the Commission.

The Sloan Commission on Government and Higher Education is an independent and autonomous body funded by the Sloan Foundation and established in 1977 with the broad purpose of examining the enlarging influence of government on the affairs of higher education. In early 1979, this Commission examined national service in terms of how it might impact student aid programs. An internal background paper was prepared. Upon review by the Commission, it was decided that no stand would be taken on national service at this particular time. Yet how the Commission will act in its final report, due out at the end of the year, is still uncertain.

The National Service Secretariat is a private, nonprofit organization created in 1966 to stimulate and facilitate consideration of national service. Donald J. Eberly has been its Executive Director since its founding. The Secretariat publishes an occasional Newsletter regarding developments in national service and from time to time sponsors conferences.

The American Institutes for Research has been actively interested in national youth service and has prepared an extensive background document on national service.* AIR has been closely following the proposed ACTION-

*Resource Materials for Research on a National Youth Service, Annotated Bibliography of Materials, Directory of Opinion Leaders, Catalog of Programs and Projects, American Institutes for Research, October 1978.

funded research project and would very likely be a bidder on such a project. Previously, it has been involved in evaluating a number of ACTION projects.

The Gallup Poll has conducted national surveys for the last several years sampling public opinion on reinstatement of the draft and the establishment of a voluntary national service system. The latest such poll, released at the end of April 1979, indicated that for all adults sampled, about 45 percent favored a return to the draft, 46 percent were opposed, and 9 percent were undecided. Among young adults, aged 18-24, however, only 25 percent favored a return to the draft, 70 percent were opposed, and 5 percent were undecided. When these same young people were asked if they favored or opposed a system of voluntary national service in which young people were given the opportunity to serve for one year either in the military forces or in nonmilitary work, 77 percent were in favor, 14 percent opposed, and 9 percent expressed no opinion.

The Potomac Institute, under a grant from the Ford Foundation (with additional funding from the Carnegie Corporation, the Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, the Field Foundation, the Hewlett Foundation, the J. M. Kaplan Fund, the New World Foundation, and the Revson Foundation), sponsored a Committee for the Study of National Service. The Committee was co-chaired by Jacqueline Grennan Wexler and Harris Wofford; Roger Landrum was Study Director. Its report, *Youth and the Needs of the Nation,* was issued in January 1979 and is generally considered the most comprehensive review of national service yet undertaken. Among its key recommendations are the following:

- All young people should be challenged to serve full-time for one or more years in meeting the needs of the nation and the world community.
- A system for national service should be established to provide opportunities so that at least a year of such service after leaving secondary or higher education can become a common expectation of young people.
- In moving toward universal service, the system should aim to enlist at each stage a representative cross-section of American young people, drawing into work together men and women from all regions, races, and backgrounds.
- Present government programs, such as VISTA, Peace Corps, etc. should be included among the options in the new system of national service.

- National service should not be seen as job-training or work programs for the unemployed but as a supplement to or, for some young people, an alternative to such programs.

- One of the incentives for participants should be appropriate post-service educational and employment benefits along the lines of the G.I. Bill of Rights and the Peace Corps readjustment allowance, apportioned according to the length of service.

- The nation should seek effective ways to provide the opportunities for service from all its citizens, and should ask the young to participate at some point after age 16, but it is not necessary now to decide whether the nation should require such service. During the gradual development of a voluntary system, the idea of mandatory service can be carefully considered. If it should be determined that the needs of national defense call for the restoration of the military draft, at that point the case for mandatory universal service, including nonmilitary options, would be very strong.

- Military enlistment should be recognized as a form of national service, and service should be reemphasized as the central mission of the military.

- To assist young people in choosing the best form of national service, a local service council should be established in each community, composed of citizens with experience in voluntary service, education, business, labor, and religious organizations.

- After age 16 and before leaving high school, all young people should be urged to visit a local service council, and the councils should hold open meetings in schools.

- The national service system would be chartered and funded by Congress as a public corporation. Its leadership would be drawn largely from the private sector of American society.

Since the Committee's final report was issued in January, it has been disseminated to schools, agencies, and other interested groups. Thirty congressmen have made the report available to schools in their districts to encourage discussion. As a follow-up to this discussion phase, the Committee will convene a conference on May 30-31 in Washington, DC, at the National 4-H Center to discuss issues and recommendations as well as next steps.

Opponents to the draft who view national service as tied to a revival of the draft have generally not considered national service in the same framework as the previous groups mentioned. Among the groups that have been active in the anti-draft and anti-national service areas are: the Friends

Committee on National Legislation, the Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD), the National Interreligious Service Board of Conscientious Objectors, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Committee of Counselors for Conscientious Objection. Some of these groups, such as the Friends Committee, are long-standing opponents to any form of involuntary service; others, such as CARD, have organized in response to the current interest in reinstating the draft. This initial perspective, of course, influences the type of analysis they conduct: they tend to focus on (1) identifying the negative social consequences of a military-related national service, (2) presenting counter-arguments to some of the assumptions that underly the proposals for a military draft (such as the assumption that the All-Volunteer Force is inadequate), and (3) identifying alternatives that are not as morally offensive to them. Some of their arguments against the U.S. programs are summarized in the introduction.

IV. MODELS OF NATIONAL SERVICE

A great deal of work has been done in developing alternative models for a national service system.* While many of these model descriptions are not explicit, each proposed form of NS must address a whole range of questions including: How much will the system cost? Who will be eligible? What job options will be offered? What tradeoff should there be between salary and deferred (educational) benefits? How long will the service last? Should there be different enlistments and rewards for different types of service? Who will administer the service? If mandatory, how will it be enforced? Where do current programs like VISTA and CETA fit in? . . . and so on. One can see that the possible permutations of a national service model are almost endless.

Despite all these possibilities, however, there are only a few *major* tradeoffs that must be decided upon in any choice of model. These are:

1. Will the service be entirely voluntary or have some obligation or sanction tied to it?
2. Will it include military as well as nonmilitary options?
2. How will the service be financed?

Answer these questions and you will have gone a long way in shaping a national service model; yet the tradeoffs are filled with shades of grey and unresolved issues.

For example, some national service proponents argue that NS should be voluntary in its initial development; then at some later point, if a military conscription system were reinstated, NS might become obligatory. Given the current U.S. political climate, any attempt to establish a mandatory NS system

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*For a description of several recent models, see Potomac, Chapter 4, "Models of National Service."

is likely to encounter severe opposition. Indeed, one of the NS experts interviewed felt that the only viable strategy for NS advocates in the immediate future is to argue that the U.S. should make voluntarism work in both military and nonmilitary activities before considering any form of compulsion.

In addition, any mandatory system is likely to encounter other problems, such as legal challenges (Thirteenth Amendment issues) and enforcement procedures (what penalty, if any, is appropriate for not doing mandatory service?).

Theoretically, it is possible to debate the merits of an NS model in the abstract. However, in practical terms, NS is tied to a number of complex public policy issues, such as:

1. Does the U.S. wish to continue an All-Volunteer Force? Do we choose to have a paid, professional military or a civilian-based military?
2. What kind of national youth policy do we wish to have? Should it be one that is directed just to the disadvantaged? Or should it be more all-encompassing?
3. What role should the federal government play in stimulating an attitude of individual service to one's country and community?

It is likely that the future debate on NS will cover both the specific tradeoff issues and the larger philosophical issues. Because the issues involved are so basic and so fraught with emotion in the aftermath of the Vietnam and Watergate periods, the emerging debate could be long, painful--and yet, hopefully constructive for the nation.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

The objective of this study is to consider whether it would be beneficial for a private foundation to get involved in the national service area--and if so, how. A lot of work has already been done describing NS alternatives, costs, models, and so on. What needs to be done now is not so clear-cut. Thus, before suggesting specific possibilities for foundation funding, we will present the argument for not doing anything.

ARGUMENT 1: AVD should not consider funding any national service activity at this time.

One role that foundations have traditionally played is that of catalyst for new ideas. By funding studies, commissions, and task forces, foundations can give ideas that lack constituencies and public understanding a chance to gain recognition and, if worthy, to be placed on the national agenda. National service has been given that impetus by private foundations in the past. Most recently, through Ford Foundation funding, a national task force for the Study of National Service was convened under the auspices of the Potomac Institute; that task force has now completed its report and with the convening of a national conference at the end of May will conclude its work.

Also, it makes little sense now for a private foundation to sponsor further NS research, which might be more appropriate and feasible for government to conduct. Such research has been proposed by the ACTION agency. While more research could always be done, it would seem that at this particular time a foundation might best sit back and see what the government will do in this whole area.

Finally, the roster of agencies and commissions considering various aspects of national service seems sufficiently broad to argue against further foundation involvement at this time.

On the other hand, we feel we have uncovered several areas related to NS that are being neglected by the government and by other studies. AVD involvement in these select areas might prove to be a high-leverage grant.

ARGUMENT 2: AVD should consider limited, highly focused funding directed toward advancing the debate on national service.

In our survey, we consistently found confusion and misunderstanding over what people mean by the term "national service." Further, because the term is often equated with a return to military conscription, it typically evokes an emotional response among certain groups. As a result, the discussion thus far on national service has generated more heat than light. A clear need, it seems to us, is for widespread public debate on national service. Part of the debate has been started with the Potomac Institute report, which has been made available to high schools and community groups across the country. Yet more needs to be done.

Proposition: AVD might consider working with a national group to develop a forum for debate on the issue to coincide with the 1980 presidential election. National service is likely to be discussed in one form or another during the upcoming campaign. If a national group could provide an organized forum for a series of debates on national service, there is a chance the issue would gain a full and fair hearing. At present, the NS advocates and opponents are not communicating and very often not sharing the same meanings. One possibility might be to fund the League of Women Voters to place the item on their agenda and perhaps to conduct a series of town meetings across the country. Another possibility might be to fund the American Assembly (Columbia University) for a series of regional meetings across the country. The cost of one such meeting is estimated to be in the $15-30,000 range.

Proposition: AVD should consider funding the development of a national service learning module for use in high schools. The learning module might not only help young people become better informed about the NS debate, but it could also assist them in thinking through existing options for alternative learning experiences and community service. Since many young people

are already choosing to take a year off between high school and college, this module might stimulate their thinking in terms of service options they hadn't really considered. Such a module might include an introductory film, text materials, and cassettes, aimed at a high school social studies class.

Proposition: AVD might consider funding a documentary for distribution via national public television. A documentary on national service might approach the subject from several different angles, such as how it works in other countries, what forms it takes, and what the best arguments for and against NS in the U.S. are. While television has paid a great deal of attention to military service alternatives, there has been no national media focus on the national service concept.

APPENDIX:

RESOURCE PEOPLE INTERVIEWED DURING

THE NATIONAL SERVICE SURVEY

B. Frank Brown
Director
National Commission on Youth
305-723-0211

Donald J. Eberly
Executive Director
National Service Secretariat
202-244-5828

Michelle Ferrar
Legislative Aide
Congressman Paul N. McCloskey
202-225-5411

Roger Landrum
Study Director
Committee for the
Study of National Service
Potomac Institute
202-332-5566

Tom Litgen
Legislative Aide
Congressman John Cavanaugh
202-225-4155

Irene Pinkau
Author, "Service for Development"
202-965-3226

Herb Rubenstein
American Institutes for Research
202-342-5000

Geoffrey White
Sloan Commission on Government
and Higher Education
Cambridge, MA
617-253-4054

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